

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KHARTOUM 0112

FOR AF ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, US, XA, SU
SUBJECT: NEW POLICY INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

REF: STATE 311031

1. WE WELCOME DEPARTMENT'S EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS
WITH MODERATE AFRICAN COUNTRIES INCLUDING SUDAN.

2. AS WE SEE IT, SUDAN PURSUING MODERATE AND CONSTRUCTIVE
POLICIES IN SEVERAL KEY AREAS:

A. SOUTHERN AFRICA. WHILE AT UN AND IN OTHER FORA,
SUDAN GENERALLY LINES UP WITH CONFRONTATION STATES, THIS
COUNTRY IS REALLY NOT AS DEEPLY INVOLVED EMOTIONALLY AS
LATTER. IT IS QUITE PRAGMATIC, AS WITNESS SUDAN'S READY
ENDORSEMENT OF US-UK PROPOSALS ON RHODESIA.

B. THE HORN. THE SUDANESE POLICY TOWARDS THE HORN
HAS STEADILY MODERATED DURING THE LAST YEAR. THUS, WHILE
SUDAN CONTINUES TO SUPPORT ERITREAN NATIONALISTS, PRIMARILY
BY GRANTING THEM TRANSIT FACILITIES, IT CONTINUES EFFORTS TO
BRING RIVAL REBEL FACTIONS TOGETHER AND WORKS TOWARDS A
NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ALONG THE LINES OF ITS OWN SOUTHERN
ARRANGEMENT, VIZ., ERITREAN AUTONOMY WITHIN AN ETHIOPIAN
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FEDERATION OR CONFEDERATION. IN SOMALIA, SUDAN HAS URGED
BARRE TO CALL FOR A CEASEFIRE IN OGADEN AND NEGOTIATIONS.
SUDAN'S RESPONSE TO THE IMPORTUNINGS OF BARRE AND OTHER
ARAB LEADERS FOR DIRECT MILITARY ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN HEDGED
WITH WHAT WE BELIEVE ARE VERY APPROPRIATE CONDITIONS.
SUDAN HAS TAKEN THE LEAD IN CALLING TO THE ATTENTION OF
OTHER AFRICAN STATES THE PERILS OF THE GROWING SOVIET/CUBAN

INVOLVEMENT ON THE CONTINENT.

C. ARAB-ISRAEL DISPUTE. BY ITS STRONG PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR SADAT'S PEACE INITIATIVES, NIMEIRI WINS AN UNBLEMISHED GOLD STAR. THIS SUPPORT HAS BEEN GIVEN ON NIMEIRI'S OWN INITIATIVE AND IS NOT RPT NOT WITHOUT RISK TO HIS OWN POSITION IF THE WHOLE PROCESS EVENTUALLY ENDS IN FIASCO.

D. INTERNAL. PAST YEAR HAS WITNESSED TANGIBLE IMPROVEMENTS IN DOMESTIC AND ECONOMIC ENVIRONMENT. NIMEIRI'S RECONCILIATION WITH OPPOSITION ELEMENTS HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY GENERAL AMNESTY. THERE HAS BEEN PERCEPTIBLE IMPROVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION HERE.

3. WE NOTE IN THE DRAFT PAPER THE STATEMENT: "WE DO NOT BELIEVE SUCH (REGIONAL) DISPUTES CAN BE RESOLVED THROUGH SUCH (ARMS) TRANSFERS." WE AGREE WITH THIS. WE HAVE URGED USG TO CONTRIBUTE TO PROCESS OF RE-EQUIPPING SUDAN'S SMALL ARMED FORCES. I BELIEVE THAT C-130 TRANSACTION AND AIR DEFENSE PACKAGE, IF CONSUMATED, SHOULD REPRESENT MAXIMUM US CONTRIBUTION OF MILITARY HARDWARE ON GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT BASIS. LET OTHER FRIENDLY COUNTRIES FILL REMAINING GAPS. I DO HOPE WE CAN CONTINUE TO EXPAND GRANT MILITARY TRAINING AS IT IS ONE OF THE MOST COST-EFFECTIVE PROGRAMS, PARTICULARLY IN TERMS OF OUR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, WE UNDERTAKE HERE. ALSO, I WOULD HOPE WE
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COULD BE FORTHCOMING WITH EXPORT LICENSES IF SUDAN FINDS FINANCING AND WISHES TO PURCHASE SOME MILITARY EQUIPMENT (E.G., APC'S) ON THE COMMERCIAL MARKET.

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4. IN THIS PARAGRAPH WE COMMENT ON THE "DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES" SECTION OF THE DRAFT PAPER. WE ALREADY HAVE A FLOURISHING AMBASSADOR-NIMEIRI DIALOG. WITH TWO RECENT WARM PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES TO NIMEIRI, I FEAR THAT MESSAGES FROM THE SECRETARY WOULD BE VIEWED HEREIN AS ANTI-CLIMATIC. IT IS WIDELY BELIEVED HERE THAT AFTER UPCOMING GENERAL ELECTIONS, A NEW FOREIGN MINISTER WILL BE APPOINTED. THIS IS A CONSUMMATION DEVOUTLY TO BE WISHED. IF THE NEW INCUMBENT IS A MAN OF REAL NATIONAL STATURE, THAT WOULD BE AN OPPORTUNE MOMENT TO INAUGURATE A SECRETARY-FOREIGN MINISTER CORRESPONDENCE. WE STRONGLY SUPPORT PROPOSAL THAT SENIOR US OFFICIALS VISIT SUDAN. WE ALSO WANT SENATORS AND CONGRESSMEN. WE REITERATE OUR RECOMMENDATION THAT PRESIDENT NIMEIRI BE INVITED TO MAKE AN OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE U.S. IN THE LATE SPRING OR EARLY SUMMER OF THIS YEAR- BEFORE HE TAKES OVER THE PRESIDENCY OF THE OAU.

5. WE AGREE WITH RECOMMENDATIONS RE CONSULTATIONS WITH EUROPEAN ALLIES.

6. WE HAVE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON "ALLOCATION OF RESOURCES" SECTION OF DRAFT PAPER. WE WOULD WELCOME INCREASED SELF-HELP FUNDS. WE WOULD ALSO WELCOME EXPANSION OF TRANSFER OF AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY TO SUDAN. AN
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INCREASE IN THE EXCHANGE PROGRAM WOULD BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL.

7. THE GOS HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY AWARE IN THE PAST YEAR OR SO OF THE NEED TO DEVOTE GREATER ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE TRADITIONAL FARMER. WITH THE HELP FROM AID AND OTHER DONORS, THE BALANCE OF THEIR DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS IS SHIFTING TOWARDS SUDAN'S LARGE RURAL POPULATION. THE SUDANESE HOWEVER FACE A NEAR DISASTEROUS SHORT RUN BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEM, WITH POTENTIALLY VERY SERIOUS POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS. SOME PAINFUL STEPS PROBABLY WILL HAVE TO BE TAKEN IMMEDIATELY, BUT THEY BELIEVE THEIR BEST HOPE FOR A SOLUTION IS EXPANDING EXPORTS THROUGH AN IMPROVED AND GROWING MODERN AGRICULTURE SECTOR. CHANGES IN THE TRADITIONAL SECTOR, WHILE ESSENTIAL AND POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT, WILL OCCUR SLOWLY AND PROBABLY WILL BE OF LIMITED BENEFIT TO THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATION FOR A CONSIDERABLE PERIOD OF TIME. OUR CONCENTRA-

TION SOLELY ON LONG RANGE DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES
HOWEVER WORTHWHILE, IGNORE SHORT RUN ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
OF EQUAL IMPORTANCE, AND RESULTS IN AN AID PROGRAM
ALMOST IRRELEVANT TO NEAR TERM POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS.
I SEE NO REASON WHY THE AID PROGRAM SHOULD NOT STRIKE
A SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT PROGRAM BALANCE AND STILL BE
ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE.

8. I AGAIN RECOMMEND THAT WE CONSIDER THE CONGRESSIONAL
MANDATE AS AN INCENTIVE TO OUR IMAGINATION RATHER THAN
A STRAITJACKET. BY ALL MEANS LET US PROCEED WITH PRESENT
PROJECTS WHICH WERE CONCEIVED UNDER MOST RIGID INTERPRETA-
TION OF CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE. BUT LET US USE MORE
COMMON SENSE IN THE FUTURE. ALL OF THE CONGRESSMEN
WHO HAVE VISITED HERE SINCE MY ARRIVAL (ADMITTEDLY A
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SMALL NUMBER) WERE NOT AT ALL APPALLED AT THE IDEA OF
USING AID FUNDS FOR BUILDING INSTITUTIONS AND IMPROVEMENT
OF RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE. I THINK RAHAD RECLAMATION
PROJECT WAS AN EXCELLENT EXAMPLE OF WHAT OUR AID
PROGRAM SHOULD BE DOING. THERE OUR INPUT WAS A SOFT
LOAN TO PROVIDE U.S. MADE AGRICULTURAL AND EARTH-MOVING
EQUIPMENT (LESS THAN 5 PERCENT TOTAL INVESTMENT).
KEITH WAUCHOPE, WHO ACCOMPANIED ME TO RAHAD INAUGURA-
TION, WILL, I AM SURE, TESTIFY: 1) THAT PROJECT WAS
EXCELLENT; 2) IT IS CONVERTING POOREST OF THE POOR INTO
LANDED GENTRY; 3) THAT U.S. GOT FAR MORE THAN 5 PERCENT
OF CREDIT FOR SUCCESSFUL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF PROJECT.
IN OTHER WORDS, I BELIEVE USG SHOULD BECOME A SHARE-
HOLDER, ALBEIT A MINORITY SHAREHOLDER, IN SOME OF
SUDAN'S MAJOR DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS. ONE THING SUDANESE
DO NOT SEEM TO WANT IS AMERICAN EXPERTS TO ADVISE THEM
ON HOW TO SPEND MONEY THEY RAISE FROM OTHER SOURCES.
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